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## IV.—ETYMOLOGICAL MISCELLANY.

### I. GREEK AND LATIN ETYMOLOGIES.

1. Gk. *ἄγος* 'guilt,' Skt. *āgas* 'Schuld, Sünde' may represent a base *\*ēgos-*, *\*əgos-*, *-es-*, which we may compare with Lat. *eges-tas* 'want, poverty', *eg eo* 'need, want, lack'. The primary meaning of Gk. *ἄγος*, Skt. *āgas*, would in that case be 'lack, deficiency', perhaps referring to failure in the ritual observance. To the same base *ēge-* may also belong OE. *acan* 'ache'.

2. Gk. *αὔριον* 'to-morrow' is explained as coming from *αὐρο-ρῖο-* and compared with Skt. *usrā-s* 'morgendlich, rötlich' (cf. Brugmann, Grd. I<sup>2</sup>, 751). May it not rather be connected with Lith. *aurė* 'dort, künftighin'?

3. With Gk. *κυκᾶω* 'stir up, mix, confuse', *κύκηθρον* 'stirring ladle', etc., compare Lith. *kuszū* 'rege mich', *kūszinu* 'rühre an', base *quē-* 'stir, move'. Synonymous bases occur in Lith. *kutu* 'rüttle auf, muntere auf', *kutrus* 'hurtig, rüstig'; Skt. *cōdati* 'treibt an', MHG. *hiuze* 'munter; frech'; Skt. *cōpati* 'bewegt sich, rührt sich', etc.

4. Gk. *κύρω*, *κυρέω* 'hit upon, meet, find, get, obtain', *κύρμα* 'booty, prey, spoil' may be connected with Skt. *cōrāyati* 'stiehlt'. Perhaps here also OE. *hýran* 'hire', MLG. *hüren* 'mieten', MHG. *behüren* 'mieten, kaufen', though these may be otherwise explained (cf. author, PBB. 24, 529).

5. Lat. *caro* 'flesh' is supposed to be from *ger-* 'cut' in Skt. *kr̥ṇāti* 'verletzt, tötet', etc. But the meanings of *caro* are not such as we should expect from 'cut'. The word is applied rather to the soft flesh as distinguished from bone and brawn, and also to the pulp of fruit. The primary meaning was therefore not 'piece of meat' but 'softness, soft flesh'. We may compare *cariēs* 'rottenness', Skt. *kr̥ṇāti* 'zerbricht, zermalmst', *ḡṛyati* 'wird zerbrochen, bricht, zerfällt, vergeht', Gk. *κῆρ* 'Verderben, Tod', Ir. *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit', etc. We have here a base *kēr-*, with derived forms *kē-ṛ-*, *-ṛ-*, etc. Perhaps we have *kroi-uo-* in Germ. *hraiwa-* 'Leichnam', OHG. *hrēo*, OE. *hrāw*, etc. Compare especially Lat. *cariēs*, Skt. *ḡṛyati*. This possibility makes my former explanation of Germ. *hraiwa-* less probable (cf. Mod. Lang. Notes 18, 15).

6. Lat *polio* 'smooth, polish, adorn, decorate' may be compared with OE. *fēlan* 'feel', OHG. *fuolen* 'fühlen, tasten', ON. *falma* 'unsicher tasten'. These words are better separated from OHG. *folma*, Lat. *palma*, etc., which are rather from a base *pelā-* 'extend, make flat' in Lat. *plānus* 'flat', OE. *flōr* 'floor', etc. (cf. Noreen, *Urg. Lautlehre*, 198; Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 284).

The meanings 'touch, feel; rub, polish' come from 'strike, beat; shake': Gk. *πάλλω*, Lat. *pello* etc.

7. Lat *vigeo* 'be lively, vigorous; thrive, flourish', *vigil* 'active, alert, awake', *vigor* 'liveliness, activity, force' are usually connected with Lat. *vegeo* 'arouse, quicken', Goth. *wakan* 'wachen' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb. s. v.*; Kluge, *Et. Wb. s. v. wecken*; Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 658).

As far as *vigil* is concerned that might be possible, since *vigil* might be for an older *\*vegil* (cf. Brugmann, *Grd. I*<sup>2</sup>, 123). But in meaning *vigil* is better associated with *vigeo*, *vigor*, etc., and there is no ground for supposing a change of *e* to *i* in these words. We may therefore connect them with Skt. *vijāte* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung, fährt los, eilt davon', *vējāyati* 'schnellt, regt auf', *vēga-s* 'Ruck, Anprall, Schwall, Drang, Hast, Kraft, Wirkung', *vēgavant* 'wogend, hastig, schnell', ON. *ýkua* 'weichen', *ýkuask* 'sich bewegen', OHG. *wīchan* 'weichen', *weich* 'weich, schwach', etc.

The double meaning 'active, strong, quick' and 'yielding, weak' is just what we should expect from 'sway, move quickly'. Compare MHG. *swanc* 'schwankend, stürmisch; biegsam, dünn', OE. *swancor* 'pliant, supple; agile, graceful; weak'; Lith. *sukù* 'drehe', *sukrus* 'agil, beweglich, schnell', *sunkus* 'schwer', MHG. *swanger* 'schwankend; grävda, schwanger', OE. *swangor*, 'träge'.

This double meaning is also in the related base *ueiq-*: Lett. *vikt* 'sich biegen', Gk. *εἴκω* 'weiche': Lith. *veikus* 'schnell', *vėkà* 'Kraft'. We certainly, therefore, have no ground for separating Lat. *vigeo*, *vigor*, *vigil* from Skt. *vēga-s* 'Ruck, Hast, Kraft', *vējāyati* 'regt auf', *vijāte* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung', etc. (cf. author, *IE. a<sup>2</sup>: a<sup>2</sup>i: a<sup>2</sup>u*, p. 30).

8. Lat. *vindex* 'claimant; avenger, punisher; maintainer, protector, defender', *vindico* 'claim, demand, assume, appropriate; deliver, liberate, save; avenge, revenge, punish' are, so far as I know, unexplained. All the meanings, however, are easily derivable from 'seek; seize', the latter representing the accomplishment of the former activity. Thus 'avenge, punish' is to

'seek, pursue, go for'; 'claim, appropriate' is to 'seek, seize'; and 'deliver, liberate' is to 'seize, take from'.

We may therefore compare the Skt. base *vid* (in *vindāti*, *vindātē*, *vēttē*) 'finden, treffen, erreichen, erfassen, heimsuchen; bewirken, erwerben, gewinnen, besitzen, aufsuchen, sich zuwenden', etc. Here also we have the double meaning 'seize; punish'. The latter meaning is also in Goth. *fra-weitan* 'rächen, vindicare', etc.

The meaning 'punish' could not have come from 'see to, turn one's attention to', for it is used in too strong a sense. Lat. *animadvertere* is not parallel at all. For *animus* means not only 'mind, soul, feeling, desire,' etc. but also 'violent passion, vehemence, wrath'. Hence *animadvertere* means to turn one's wrath as well as one's mind to a thing. Notice also the double meaning in *animōsitas* 'boldness, spirit; vehemence in anger, impetuosity, ardor'.

If Germ. *wītan* 'strafen' meant simply 'see to', then we must separate from it ON. *vīte*, OE. *wīte* 'punishment; fine; torture; misery', *wītnian* 'punish; torture', OS. *wīti* 'Strafe, Böses, Pein', *wītnon* 'bestrafen, töten', OHG. *wīzzi* 'Strafe, Qual, Hölle', *wīzzinōn* 'strafen, peinigen'. But there is no reason for separating *wīlja-* 'Strafe, Qual', from *wītan* 'strafen; vorwerfen'. And yet the various meanings do not necessarily go through the same stages of development. In OSw. *vīta* 'zeihen, beweisen' we have a near approach to the meaning of the causative, OHG. *wēzzēn* 'zeigen, beweisen', Skt. *vēdāyatē* 'teilt mit, zeigt an', etc. But Goth. *fra-weitan* 'rächen' is more like Skt. *vindāti* 'erreicht, erfasst, sucht heim', etc., Lat. *vindico*.

In Skt. the meaning 'pain' comes from 'feeling, Empfindung' in *vēdanā* 'Empfindung, Schmerz', which may be compared with OHG. *wīzzinōn* 'peinigen, strafen'. Compare also Skt. *ā-vēdana-m* 'Zeigen, Vorführen, Anzeige, Denunciation' with OSw. *vīta* 'zeihen, beweisen', O, Fries. *wīta* 'schelten', OS. *wītan* 'vorwerfen', etc. It is evident, therefore, that though Goth. *wītan* 'wissen' and *fraweitan* 'rächen' are related, they represent two distinct developments in meaning.

The development of the meaning 'perceive: see; know' is seen in the following: OE. *ge-wītan* 'go', whence 'depart, die', OS. *gi-wītan* 'gehen': Skt. *vindāti* 'findet, trifft, erreicht, erfasst, erwirbt', Av. *vindaiti* 'findet, erlangt', Ir. *finnaim* 'finde, mache ausfindig'; Skt. *vētti* 'empfindet, begreift, nimmt wahr, erfährt,

erkennt, weiss', *vēda* 'weiss', Gk. εἶδον 'saw', οἶδα 'know', Lat. *video* 'perceive, see, understand, comprehend', Goth. *witan* 'wissen', etc. (cf. author, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. XIV, 324).

The development of meaning 'go, go to, reach, get. perceive' is seen in OHG. *faran* 'gehen, wandern, sich begeben', *arfaran* 'erreichen, erlangen; erfahren, erforschen, wahrnehmen', MHG. *ervarn* 'einholen, erreichen; treffen, finden, erwischen, kennen lernen, erkunden, erforschen, erfahren', Lat. *experior, reperio*. Compare also Lat. *peto* 'rush at, attack; seek, demand; fall upon, strive after', OE. *fundian* 'hasten, go to, desire', *fandian* 'investigate, explore', Goth. *finpan* 'finden, erkennen, erfahren', MHG. *ervinden* 'ausfindig machen, bemerken, erfahren', NHG. *empfinden*.—OHG. *sind* 'Gang, Weg, Reise', *sinnan* 'gehen, reisen; trachten, verlangen, sinnēn', Lat. *sentio* 'experience, undergo; perceive, feel, observe; hear, see; think, judge'.—OE. *ge-lisian* 'slip, glide', MHG. *leise* 'Spur, Geleise', OHG. *lirnen* 'lernen', Goth. *lais* 'weiss'.—OHG. *spurnan* 'treten', *spor* 'Spur', *spuren* 'der Fährte des Wildes suchend nachgehen, aufsuchen, spüren, untersuchen', ON. *spyria* 'forschen, erfragen, hören'.—Lat. *vestigium* 'footstep, track, trace', *vestigo* 'track, trace, search after, investigate, find out'.

9. Lat. *vomō*, Gk. ἐμέω, Skt. *vamiti*, Lith. *vemiù*, etc. are compared with ON. *váma* 'a qualm, ailment', *vámr* 'a loathsome person' (cf. Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. 271). The ON. words, I should say, are nearer the primary meaning than the others, and may be more closely connected with Skt. *vāma-s* 'verkehrt, widerwärtig; link'. This gives us a base *\*uěmo-* 'turn; turned', whence 'verkehrt', etc., and 'vomit'. For 'turn': 'vomit' compare the following: OHG. *wallan* 'wallen, aufwallen': *wullōn, willōn* 'nauseare, Ekel empfinden'; *walgōn* 'sich wälzen, sich rollen': MHG. *mir walget* 'mir ekelt', early NHG. *wulgeren* 'nauseare'.

10. Lat. *vitium* 'fault, defect, vice', *vitio* 'injure, spoil, mar, taint' I compared (Mod. Lang. Notes 17,7) with OE. *wīdl*, 'defilement, impurity', *wīdlian* 'defile', referring all to the base *\*uei-* 'wind, twist', etc. in Skt. *vītā-s* 'gewunden'. I still think the words go back to such a meaning, but I now find other words which show both the literal and the figurative meaning. Skt. *vyáthātē* 'schwankt, taumelt, geht fehl, weicht', *vyáthiṣ* 'schwankend, schief, heimlich, heimtückisch', *vyathā* 'Fehlschlag, Schaden, Verlust, Unruhe, Not, Qual'. To these add OS. *in-wīd* 'Bosheit, Tücke, Übeltat' from pre-Germ. *\*uītiō-m* = Lat. *vitium*. For

meaning cp. Skt. *skhālati* 'strauchelt, taumelt', Gk. *σκολιός* 'bent, crooked, wrong', Lat. *scelus*.

II. SOME PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES.

1. Base *īo-*.

ON. *at* 'dass' is probably from Germ. *\*jat*, pre-Germ. *\*īod*, the neut. of the rel. pronoun *īo-*. It would therefore correspond exactly to Skt. *yād* 'dass, so dass, damit', etc. For similar derivatives of the base *īo-* see Brugmann, *Kurze Vergl. Gr.* 664 ff.

Goth. *jabai* 'wenn' and Lith. *jei* 'wenn' have both been referred to the base *īo-*, and may still be so explained, since the objection raised by Brugmann, *Kurze Vgl. Gr.* 669, against this explanation is removed by the connection of ON. *at* with Skt. *yād*. Compare also Goth. *ja-u* 'ob'.

Goth. *jah* 'and', pre-Germ. *\*īo-q<sup>e</sup>*, OS., OHG. *ja* 'und, auch' are perhaps also from the rel. base *īo-*. Compare Lat. *quo-que*.

With the above compare OS. *jak* 'und, auch', pre-Germ. *\*īo-ge*. The *-ge* may be compared with Gk. *γέ* in *αὐ γέ*, Goth. *auk* 'denn nämlich', OHG. *ouch* 'auch', and is perhaps also in Goth. *ak* 'aber, sondern', OE. *ac* 'aber, und', etc., pre-Germ. *\*oge*.

Goth. *ja* 'ja', *jai* 'wahrlich, ja', OHG. *jā*, etc. may represent case forms of the pronominal stem *īo-*. Similarly from *o-* comes Skt. *á-ha* 'gewiss, ja'.

2. Base *bho-*.

This base occurs alone, and compounded with other pronominal stems, meaning 'both'. This meaning, of course, did not inhere in the word itself but in the originally dual form. Alone the base occurs in Goth. *bai*, *bans*, etc., and the derivative *baǵōþs*, in ON. gen. *beggia*, in OE. *bēgen*, *bā*, *bū*, and compounded with 'two' in OE. *bā-twā*, *bū-tu*. It is also combined with the article in ON. *bá-ðer*, OHG. *bei-de*, etc.

Outside of Germ. the base *bho-* is also joined with other pronominal stems, which, however, precede. So Skt. *u-bhāu*; Gk. *ἀμ-φω*, Lat. *am-bo*; Lith. *a-bū*, ChSl. *o-ba*.

The base *bho-* occurs in OHG., OS., OE. *bī*, 'bei, an', Goth. *bī*, OHG. *bi-*, etc. The form with the long *ī* is probably an old locative, IE. *\*bhei*. An original long vowel must also have been in OHG. *um-bī*, OE. *ym-be*, whereas OE. *ymb* presupposes a short vowel as in Gk. *ἀμ-φί(ς)*. IE. *\*bhi*, which forms instrumentals

to nouns and pronouns, is itself a case form of *bho-* (cf. Brugmann, Kz. Vgl. Gr. 386). Here also may belong Lith. *bež*, OPruss. *be* 'und' and Lith. *baũ* 'ob'.

OHG. *iba* 'Zweifel, Bedingung', ON. *ef(e)*, *if(e)* 'Zweifel' may be derived from a pre-Germ. *\*e-bhā-* 'doubt' which itself can be a derivative of the base *bho-* after it had taken on the meaning 'both'. Compare Lith. *abejā* 'Zweifelhaftigkeit', *abejoti* 'zweifeln', *abejotinas* 'zweifelhaft', which are derivatives of *abũ*, *abejũ* 'beide'. Lith. *abejetas* 'beide' and *abejotinas* correspond in formation to Goth. *bajōps*. The first part of Lith. *a-bũ*, ChSl. *o-ba* 'beide' is the pronominal base *o-*, *e-*, which occurs also in Skt. *a-sāu* 'jener', *ā-ha* 'gewiss, ja', gen. *a-syā*, Goth. *i-s*, etc. (cf. Brugmann, Kz. Vgl. Gram. 401).

Goth. *ibai*, *iba* 'ob denn', OHG. *ibu*, OS. *ef*, *af* 'ob, wenn', etc. are regarded as old case forms of OHG. *iba*. With these we can not directly compare OS., ODan., OFries. *of*, OHG. *oba* 'ob, wenn', which are rather made up of the same component parts as Skt. *u-bhāu* 'beide'. The *u-* of these words is from the pronominal base *u-*, *uo-*, *ouo-* (cf. Brugmann, Demonstrativpron. der idg. Spr. 96 ff.)

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